No. 9 November 1967.

P E G A S U S

University of Exeter Classical Society Magazine

Editor : C. A. M. Evans

Contents

CLASSICAL ASSOCIATION - SOUTH-WEST BRANCH

Meetings are held at 5.15 p.m. in "Thornlea" (Education Department of the University), New North Road, Exeter. (Opposite the Imperial Hotel) - EXCEPT ON NOV. 10th (See below).

Programme for Michaelmas Term 1967

Friday, October 13th. — Joint meeting with the Roman Society.

Professor Sir ROGER MYNORS, D.Litt., F.B.A., on
ARISTAEUS AND CYRENE (Georgic IV)

Professor Mynors is Corpus Christi Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford, and was President of the Classical Association in 1966. He has edited the Oxford texts of Catullus, Pliny's letters, and the Panegyrici Latini. Members will find it helpful to bring texts of Vergil.

Friday, October 27th. — Joint meeting with the Hellenic Society.

Mr. D. A. RUSSELL, M.A., on
PLUTARCH'S MORALIA

Mr. Russell is a Fellow of St. John's College, Oxford, and Editor of the Classical Quarterly. He has published an Oxford text, with introduction and commentary, of 'Longinus', and has written articles on various subjects including Plutarch.

Friday, November 10th. — Classical Association.
This meeting is held at 8 p.m. in LOPES HALL, St. German's Rd., (off Pennsylvania Rd.)

Mr. I. R. D. MATHEWSON, M.A., on
TAKING LIBERTIES WITH HORACE

Mr. Mathewson is Senior Lecturer in Classics in the University of Exeter, and the author of various articles on Classical subjects. Members will find it helpful to bring texts of the Odes.

Friday, November 24th. — Joint Meeting with the University Classical Society.

Mr. B. B. SHEFTON, M.A., on
AN ASPECT OF GREEK ART (probably with slides)

Mr. Shefton is Senior Lecturer in Greek Archaeology and Ancient History in the University of Newcastle upon Tyne, and formerly Lecturer in Classics in the University of Exeter. His publications include books and articles on various aspects of Greek Art.

P.t.o.

Programme for Lent Term 1968

Friday, February 9th — Joint meeting with the University Classical Society.

Mr. A. D. FITTON BROWN, M.A., on
ANCIENT WINE

Mr. Fitton Brown is a Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and author of many articles mainly on Greek literary subjects.

Friday, February 23rd — Classical Association

Professor D. J. O'CONNOR, M.A., Ph.D., on
ARISTOTLE AND FATALISM

Professor O'Connor is Professor of Philosophy in the University of Exeter. He is author of several books and articles on philosophic subjects, and has contributed several chapters, including one on Aristotle, in A Critical History of Western Philosophy of which he was editor.

Friday, March 8th.

Information will be sent later announcing the time and place of the annual "JACKSON KNIGHT MEMORIAL LECTURES" to be inaugurated by Sir BASIL BLACKWELL, Hon. Ll.D.
This is a public lecture to which members of the Classical Association and others are invited.

Friday, March 22nd. — Joint Meeting with the University Classical Society

Mr. J. A. NORTH, B.A., on
PRIESTS AND POLITICIANS IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

Mr. North is Lecturer in Ancient History in University College, London, and is engaged on research in the history of Roman Religion.

Further Details.

All meetings are open to everyone interested in Classical Subjects. Schoolchildren are welcome, whether accompanied by a member of staff or not.

The Hon. Sec.

Raymond J. Clark

12, Knowle Drive,
Exwick,
EXETER,
Devon.

FRAGMENTUM (? M. VAL. MARTIALIS) NUPER REPERTUM

Aequales superare cupit mea Phyllis amictu,
Inque dies brevior fit breviorque chiton.
Sed via nunc alia est illi temptanda placendi.
Cur, quaeris? Minimo nil minus esse potest.

V.A.L.H.

CORRIGENDUM

Owing to typing error, line 32 on page 48 of R. J. Clark's article The Amphorae and Tablets of the Northern Entrance Passage at Knossos which appeared in "Pegasus" 8 (June 1967) 43ff., should read: "One line of investigation is now (not not) called for."

TRANSLATIONS - TRIOLET AND EPIGRAM

In rendering verse into verse, one is apt - as often as not quite instinctively - to decide that certain metres are obvious, tolerable or impossible equivalents. One does not readily see an Aeschylean chorus in Pope's heroic couplets - though very strange things indeed have been done under the dominance of prevailing fashion in these matters. One does easily - perhaps too easily - conceive the Greek epigramma, particularly if it is of the epigrammatic kind, in English rhymed couplets, though longer elegiacs are a more doubtful matter and may persuade to a sonnet, if of appropriate length. Cases occur to one in Ovid or Theognis. Horace produces perhaps more problems than anyone, partly because of the variety (indeed ambiguity) of tone.

Length, or rather brevity, a repetitive refrain inside those narrow limits, and general tone seemed to suggest hendecasyllables for Hardy's Triolet. True, some of the Catullan refrains, lurking in certain recesses of one's mind might not seem quite appropriate, and the Latin measure may seem lighter. But perhaps the two very different poets do have common enough ground in this particular mood.

The epigram is simply an exercise on Homer's proverbial Χρύσεα Χαλκείων attempting to combine epitaph and epigram, and based on one or more English originals which use a Biblical proverb instead. Unfortunately, while I am pretty certain more than one English poet played with this idea, I can only, at the moment, remember one effort (without author) - "The poet's fate is here in emblem shown. He begged for bread and he receives a stone." There is also, of course, the near parallel of Heywood's: "Seven cities warred for Homer, being dead, Who, living, had no roof to shroud his head." And then again there is the other version, which eludes me at the moment, about "through which the living Homer begged his bread."

TRIOLET

AT A HASTY WEDDING

(Thomas Hardy)

If hours be years the twain are blest,
For now they solace swift desire
By bonds of every bond the best,
If hours be years. The twain are blest
Do eastern stars slope never west,
Nor pallid ashes follow fire:
If hours be years the twain are blest
For now they solace swift desire.

Annum si facit hora, quam beati
Estis, qui rapidos levatis aestus,
Iungentes bene vos bonoque vinclo
Annum si facit hora. quam beati
Si nec sidus eoum ad occidentem
Nec canas abit ignis in favillas.
Annum si facit hora, quam beati
Estis qui rapidos levatis aestus!

EPIGRAM

Χρύσεα Χαλκείων

μνῆμ', ὦ ξεῖνε, βλέπεις ἀτοπώτατον· ἴσθι πένητα
ζῶντά τε τονδ', ὃν ὁρᾷς, κἀποθανόντα, Κύκνον.
Γλαῦκε, σὺ μὲν κλήζῃ μέγα νήπιος, ὅστις ἄμειβες
χρύσεα χαλκείων· ἀλλ' ὅδε μᾶλλον ἄφρων.
ποιητὴς γὰρ ἀνευ χρυσοῦ βίον ἕλκει ἅπαντα
ὡς δὴ τεθνηκὼς μνήματα χάλκε' ἔχῃ.

F.W.C.

Kilroy was there

It was sad to see in Italy this summer so many priceless frescoes of the Trecento and Quattrocento in little-known chiesette, monasteries and hermitages entirely desecrated by the homage paid by loyal subjects of Kilroy, undoubted king of the graffiti-specialists. It is, perhaps, comforting to reflect, however, that this Kilroy is no upstart, no mere puppet-ruler of Cook's democracy. He can boast a proud lineage. A closer look at Jan van Eyck's fine portrait of self and spouse, now in the National Gallery and still erroneously entitled The Betrothal of the Arnolfini, will reveal a modest but quite legible inscription on the rear wall above the mirror, doubtless by way of authentication in the matter of Dürer, which reads: 'Johannes de Eyck fuit hic, 1434'. But Kilroy can trace his ancestry much further back than this. Hanging on the wall of the Saalburg, a perfect reconstruction of a Roman castellum on the Limes near Frankfurt (and which, incidentally, as Michelin would say 'mérite un détour') is the following dignified imprecation:

> C. Julius Anicetus ex imperio Solis rogat nequis velit parietes aut triclias inscribere aut scariphare.
> (Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, VI, 52)

The descendants of the harrassed Anicetus some seventeen hundred years later, clinging obstinately to the vita contemplativa in a tiny Franciscan convent in Fiesole, but obliged like so many English aristocrats to sell their privacy to the culture-vultures of the 20th Century, and realising doubtless that even a brace of minor saints could scarcely succeed where Apollo himself had failed, resort to undisguised sarcasm, displaying the following simple but eloquent notice:

> Chi crede prega, chi non crede ammira, chi è stupido scrive il suo nome sui muri.

It remains to be seen whether this is a more effective method of curbing Kilroy's subliterary urges!

K. A. DICKSON

THE CASE FOR EDWARD CASAUBON

When Mark Pattison died in June 1884, he was a famous man. The newspapers and periodicals were full of enthusiastic obituaries of 'the great scholar', as he was called by many. In Oxford, and among university people in general, his reputation was as great as that of Jowett. Among continental scholars it was even greater - for, after all, how many people outside England ever heard of the vast advancements of learning effected by the Master of Balliol? Pattison's book on Isaac Casaubon went through a second edition in 1892; some of his essays were collected and published in two volumes by Nettleship, and one volume was later made available in a pocket-size edition in the popular New Universal Library. His Memoirs, published a year after his death by his widow, are among the most interesting documents of Oxford in the nineteenth century, and were widely read by scholars and laymen alike. Even his collected Sermons, published by Mrs. Pattison in the same year, had a certain amount of success. As late as the turn of the century, one still had just to mention his name: no explanation would be required, and a man of liberal education would not reach for his DNB to find out who on earth that man Pattison was.

Then came what Housman has once called 'the steady encroachment of oblivion'. Pattison's books are concerned with a rather esoteric subject, the history of Classical scholarship, and those who had not known the Rector of Lincoln or heard of him could not be expected to guess how readable and lively these books are, how the stories of books and scholars they tell can, at times, be quite exciting, and how these seemingly dull books are permeated by a very human and personal note, a reflection of an author who was one of the most human personalities in Victorian letters. Most of Pattison's books have thus been unavailable since the beginning of this century. While Jowett's reputation has been growing as the years went by, Pattison's name was almost forgotten(1). To quote the words of the Warden of All Souls: 'Mark Pattison is probably thought of today, by those who remember him at all, as the rival of Jowett in the field of University reform; as the author of a remarkable book of Memoirs; perhaps, as the hero, or anti-hero, of a famous Oxford intrigue; and as a very learned man. People with specialized interest may be able to go further: scholars will connect his name with Isaac Casaubon, of whom he wrote a classic biography, and readers of George Eliot may be aware of a different association with the same name: was he not Mr. Casaubon, the hero, or (again) the anti-hero, of Middlemarch?'

This comes from a new book on Pattison by the Warden of All Souls College, Oxford (2). For there has been lately some revival of interest in that strange and haunting personality. In 1957, Mr. V. H. H. Green, a fellow of Pattison's College, Lincoln, published a long and detailed study of Pattison and his background - a book which deserves to be more widely known (3). When, in May 1961, Professor Hugh Lloyd-Jones delivered his Inaugural Lecture as Regius Professor of Greek (4), he paid full tribute to Pattison's contribution to life and learning in nineteenth-century Oxford, and came as near as one can to suggesting that to the Classical scholar, and to scholars in general, Pattison's name can, and perhaps should, mean more than that of his contemporary Regius Professor. When the Warden of All Souls was invited to give the Clark Lectures in Cambridge in 1965, his choice fell again on Pattison. This is hardly surprising. Mr. Sparrow is that rare phenomenon nowadays, a man of letters at large, whose interests range from the unfinished lines of Vergil to contemporary English literature, not to mention law, current events, and the traffic problems of modern Oxford. Without being the modern professional 'research man', Mr. Sparrow has managed in a way that ought to baffle our present-day Professors of Lucan Book II and Readers in The First Six Chapters of Silas Marner, to do some good and useful work in so many subjects. The elegance of his style and presentation makes his books ex-

cellent reading and, as one of his reviewers has pointed out, one wishes he wrote more. Mr. Sparrow is also an unflinching champion of liberal education, the sort of education which makes it its aim to produce men, not books or automata, and which is very much out of favour with those who administer our education nowadays. As an Oxford man, he can look back to many glorious chapters in the history of his University - a history he knows so well. Looking for precedents, one is not surprised that he has chosen another man of letters in the widest sense of this word, a man who, in times of Reforms and Commissions not unlike ours, had stood for the antiquated ideal of 'bonae literae' against the businesslike opposition of the Jowetts of this world, who always seem to be just round the corner, waiting for their inevitable victory.

On points of information, there is little about Pattison in the new book that was not mentioned in Mr. Green's earlier and fuller book. This is neither coincidence nor plagiarism. Mr. Sparrow and Mr. Green are next door neighbours, they have both done their homework independently and have also helped each other in their common pursuit. Although Mr. Green's is the earlier, longer and more detailed account, he acknowledges in his preface his 'indebtedness to Mr. John Sparrow, the Warden of All Souls, who has given freely from his unrivalled knowledge of Pattison'. Both authors have acquired an enviable familiarity with the Pattison MSS in the Bodleian Library as well as the literary and historical background. The difference between the two books is that between a historical study and a literary biography with a moral to point. Mr. Green is much more of an expert writing 'sibi et doctis'. Mr. Sparrow, though an expert acknowledged by experts, writes this book more in the tradition of the English Men of Letters series - a series which contains so many excellent biographies and which should not have been forgotten by a generation which attempts to 'respond' to an author's work without going into the awful and useless trouble of knowing something about the author's personality. Moreover, whereas Mr. Green is essentially the objective historian whose task ends when the past has been reconstructed, Mr. Sparrow also aims at learning from that past a lesson relevant to our academic problems today, and his last chapter, on The Idea of a University, is an attempt to do this. On the whole, Mr. Sparrow's book is more dramatic, a little more readable for the generality, and - a point of some importance in the age of Omnibuses and Reader's Digests - it is much shorter. One hopes that it will bring about some revival of interest in Mark Pattison and what he stood for, make some of its readers go on to explore Mr. Green's longer and fuller study and - who knows? - perhaps even read some of Pattison's own books.

So much in the way of general appreciation. I should now ask my readers to rush off to the nearest library or, preferably, bookshop, and lay their hands on Mr. Sparrow's excellent book. For in what follows I will assume some acquaintance with the contents of that book. I am not going to review it - quite a few reviews have appeared by now (5) - or, even worse, to sum it up. In a few years' time there will probably appear a short summary in the Année Philologique - though I doubt if the Reader's Digest will ever condense Mr. Sparrow's book, despite its romantic appeal - and lazy readers may as well wait for that. I shall rather try to touch on some points of interest where, I think, there may be something an amateur may add to what has been said by the experts - be it ever so little. The following, therefore, are my own reflections and footnotes to Mr. Sparrow's book, and for the reader's convenience, they are arranged in the order of his chapters.

1. Pattison and the Novelists

To the candid reader of Middlemarch - that is, if that candid reader also happens to know a little about Pattison and his background - the portrait

of the Reverend Edward Casaubon presents a superb - if grossly exaggerated and inhumanly cruel - caricature of the private life of the Rector of Lincoln as it struck an unsympathetic contemporary. He is a middle-aged clergyman (Pattison, though he became very nearly an agnostic, never relinquished Holy Orders), who marries a young woman of exalted religious ideals who is twenty-seven years his junior (a fairly precise description of Emilia Francis Strong when, in 1861, she married Mark Pattison). He is described as 'a dried bookworm towards fifty (Pattison was then forty-eight), who is engaged on a major work which will never come out. At the time when Middlemarch was being serialized, Pattison had nearly relinquished his project of writing a major work on the History of post-RenaissanceScholarship, and was composing his book on Isaac Casaubon which came out 3-4 years after Middlemarch. That he was engaged in writing this book was no secret to the academic or literary world, and was certainly known to George Eliot, whose friendship with Mrs. Pattison was developing towards the closest intimacy, and whose husband, George Lewes, was a friend of the Rector. Furthermore, Casaubon's letter in Middlemarch proposing marriage to Dorothea is couched in that rather formal, literary and self-consciously remote style which no one who knew the Rector could fail to recognise. It contains some phrases which would be fairly meaningless if meant to refer merely to the Reverend Edward Casaubon of the novel. 'I am not, I trust,' says the Reverend Person in his letter, 'mistaken in the recognition of some deeper correspondence than that of date in the fact that a consciousness of need in my own life had arisen contemporaneously with the possibility of my becoming acquainted with you.' Why should one - or at least why should Mr. Casaubon of the novel - talk of the possibility of becoming acquainted with his future wife? And why 'a deeper correspondence than that of date'? What date? Unless one remembers that early in 1861 Pattison was elected to the Rectorship of his College, that from this time on it was possible for him, not just to become acquainted with young women - that had happened to him before - but to get married without renouncing his fellowship and becoming a schoolmaster or a parish priest away from Oxford and scholarship.

We have indeed the testimony of no lesser a person than Sir Charles Dilke, Mrs. Pattison's second husband. 'Dorothea's defence of her marriage with Casaubon, and Casaubon's account of his marriage to Dorothea in the first book of "Middlemarch"', says Sir Charles (6), 'are as a fact given by the novelist almost in Mark Pattison's words.' Mr. Sparrow quotes this, as well as the evidence of the art critic D. S. MacColl, himself an undergraduate at Lincoln in Pattison's time, who knew both the Rector and his wife well in his College days, and later on had many connections in the literary and artistic world of London. 'There is authority for saying,' writes MacColl, 'that George Eliot, a friend of both, gave the religious temper of Emilia to Dorothea, and reproduced much of the Rector's proposal in Casaubon's letter.' (7)

In the face of such evidence and so many similarities - and all the numerous arguments brought forward by Mr. Sparrow - it seems unlikely that Edward Casaubon of the novel could have hardly any connection with the pedantic, middle-aged scholar who was just then writing the life of Isaac Casaubon. Yet this is precisely what contemporaries and later scholars have consistently tried to do. They found it difficult to admit, if they knew the truth, or to imagine, if they did not know, that such a horrible portrait of the Rector and his wife, both - especially the latter - good friends, could have been drawn by such a splendid person as the Marian Lewes her contemporaries knew or the George Eliot her readers admire. No, it could not be - so let us light a candle and call it a day. 'Here the matter ends', says Dilke in the sentence following the terrible admission he has just made. 'There all resemblance ends,' says MacColl, echoing - almost copying - Dilke's phrase. Mr. Green, pp. 211-214, tends to believe that there is more of Pattison in the novel than that. But the leading authority on George Eliot's life, Professor Gordon S. Haight (8), has convinced

himself - and, probably, some of his readers - that this is not the case. Out of George Eliot's distant past he has dug out the austere and slightly ridiculous figure of Dr. Brabant of Devizes, an ageing scholar of a sort, who, in her innocent youth, had something like a love affair with George Eliot. Dr. Brabant was not twenty-seven years older than Marian Evans, nor - since, in fact, he was married - did he propose marriage to her. He was an agnostic, had never been in Holy Orders, and had no connection with the name Casaubon. The only connection between the scholarly dilettante of Devizes and the Reverend Person of our novel is that the subject of Dr. Brabant's colossal opus, which, of course, never came out, was - like Casaubon's in the novel - mythology. (9). By the time Middlemarch was being written, nearly twenty years had passed since the Brabant affair, and George Eliot was living happily with Lewes. But the Pattisons were very much in the foreground. The Rector's book on Casaubon was taking shape, and the friendship between Marian Lewes and Emilia Pattison was developing fast. By September 1872 (10), Mrs. Lewes was already addressing Mrs. Pattison as 'Dear Figliuolina (little daughter)', and she says in her letter: 'I want to say that we will talk over all affairs of the heart when I come back and you are in London'.

Professor Haight refers us to another letter of the same month, from George Henry Lewes to John Blackwood (11). 'Surely,' says the Novelist's husband, 'Dorothea is the very cream of lovely womanhood, She is more like her creator than any one else and more so than any other of her creations. Only those who know her (Dodo - or her creator) under all aspects can have any idea of her.' So says Lewes, who should have known, and his evidence, combined with that of Dilke, should be accepted, even if it flies in the face of all the obvious facts. Or should it?

Lady Dilke's - Emilia Pattison's - Book of the Spiritual Life was edited and published by her second husband soon after her death. Her memory was still fresh, and there were many people alive who knew her, Mark Pattison, and George Eliot. The whole Middlemarch affair was, as Dilke himself says, 'a subject always distasteful to my wife'. There was, I think (though at the moment I cannot prove it), some reliable gossip in London circles that Casaubon's letter in the novel was a replica of Pattison's proposal of marriage, and there was no point in denying that. But one had to make the rest of this 'distasteful subject' as unlikely as could be believed, and years of political experience had not been wasted on Sir Charles. He therefore decided that, as far as his reading public was concerned, 'here the matter ends'.

Dilke, however, knew more. The Dilke Papers in the British Museum contain a few volumes of his Diaries, hitherto unpublished. Only excerpts of them were used by Gwynn and Tuckwell in their standard biography of Dilke published in 1917, and the following is not among them. Since it represents what Dilke really knew and thought of Middlemarch and the Pattisons, one may be excused in quoting it at full length, omitting only the discussion of Emilia Pattison's early religious opinions (12):

> In this month of February 1875 I revived an acquaintance which had slumbered for 13 years, and which was destined not again to drop. From 1858 to 1860 I had been very intimate with a girl three years older than myself, who had much influence over me - Emilia Francis Strong - who had been a fellow member of the committee of the South Kensington bat-club, while she was a regular South Kensington student working under (rasura, J.G.) Mulready and I an occasional student as a pupil of a student (rasura, J.G.), competing only occasionally in examinations. Her great talent, and power of expression in speech and writing made her rather a terrible person to a boy of sixteen when she was nineteen, and she seemed altogether to belong to an older generation than myself, and I classed her with people of a greater age and rank, but still

worshipped from afar, and she was very kind to me and used to talk to me a great deal. In 1861 she married and I saw but little of her, although I saw something of her husband, until the beginning of 1875, as she came but little to London and I was not at all at Oxford. I had on the appearance of Middlemarch been one of those who saw how (rasura, J.G.) George Eliot had drawn from Emilia Strong the opinion of Dorothea Brooke and how she tried to draw (ras., J.G.) view of Mark Pattison's character in that of the Revd. Mr. Casaubon - to whom she indeed gave a name which could only show that she both meant Pattison and meant to be known to mean him. The portrait of the author of the Life of Casaubon, under the name of Casaubon, was a cruel one. George Eliot evidently had a personal dislike and contempt for the man and tried to show it but it chiefly differs from the original in the total disregard for the real learning which Pattison undoubtedly had. (Ras. of about three lines, J.G.)..... closer than two other portraits which were essayed by two other writers, one by Mallock and one by Rhoda Broughton. The story has no bearing whatever upon real fact and no relation to it, as I may show at once by mentioning that Emilia's Casaubon lived for twenty three years after marriage, and lived till she was 44. But George Eliot must have worked hard through all her Oxford friends and through Pattison himself (for she knew him at one time very well, & he was a very intimate friend at one moment of George Henry Lewes) to get at every fact which had a bearing upon his character. For example, Casaubon's letter to Dorothea at the beginning of the 5th chapter of Middlemarch, from what George Eliot herself told me in 1875, must have been very near the letter that Pattison actually wrote, and the reply very much the same. The effect upon me in 1875 of much conversation with Mrs. Pattison during her convalescence, after a frightful attack of gout ... (here follows a long rasura, and then a discussion of her religious opinions, which I skip, except for the following rather significant passage, J.G.). Mrs. Pattison's highest standard in all things greatly affected my way of looking at many matters and brought me back to where I had been before recent inferior days .....
When inafter years our long intimacy had deepened into close friendship, I had the impertinence, not by speech, for I should not have dared, but by letter, to ask Mrs. Pattison about Middlemarch, and the main text of hermply, after recounting her growth through High Church discipline, afterwards revolutionised by positivism, and how these had left behind them the habit of self-control, and the habit of trying to regard the claims of others as obligations to be fulfilled at any cost to herself, she wrote "(here follows a long rasura of a few lines or sentences, J.G.). To give all to a woman who can only feel intense compassion, be patient and forbear.....(another rasura, supplying, by Dilke's later hand, the following sentence, J.G.). I would give my life to free him from the mistake that was made - that I made.

Here the matter might rest, but for a few observations. Dilke's evidence, even if that part of the Diaries was written soon after 1875, can hardly be doubted. It was in that year that he renewed his friendship with Emilia Pattison, a friendship which was to lead to their marriage after the Rector died. As the volumes of letters contained in Add. MSS 43903 ff. show, their correspondence from then on became as regular as that between man and wife. It was also, one suspects, much more intimate in tone than the mere correspondence between two friends as the number of excisions in these volumes of MS letters shows. The beginnings and ends of letters - the customary place for words of endearment - are carefully cut out, except in one case (13), where the words 'My dear' are allowed to stand at the beginning of a letter, but are then followed by a rasura of about one line, which, one suspects, did not contain a discussion of the French Government's policy in Central Africa.

Dilke, though a Cambridge man himself, says that he 'saw something of her husband'. Mrs. Pattison, as we have seen, was by the time this part of

the diaries was written, George Eliot's close friend, and Lewes was 'a very intimate friend at one moment' of the Rector of Lincoln. To crown it all, it was George Eliot herself who told Dilke in 1875 (when, one presumes, 'Esther had told what he was unto her') that 'Casaubon's letter to Dorothea must have been very near the letter that Pattison wrote'.

Why, then, should Lewes think - and say - that Dorothea is a self-portrait of George Eliot herself? How much did he know?

It is just about possible that he did. If so, he was almost certainly sworn to secrecy, and his letter to Blackwood was a faithful attempt to cover up. But I think we have a better clue to the real answer in George Eliot's letter to Emilia Pattison of September 5th, 1872, from which I have just quoted that sentence about 'all affairs of the heart'. Let us have the sentence in its right context:

> 'I am rather harrassed with finishings and preparations, and Mr. Lewes, with super-human goodness, has been writing all my notes for many weeks. But I could not let him be my secretary to you, because I want to say that we will talk over all affairs of the heart when I come back and you are in London'.

It is this 'talking over all affairs of the heart' - I do not believe that even in late Victorian times this was a strictly medical term - that even Lewes must not know about - not even the fact that it takes place. If so, it seems very likely that it was George Eliot herself who tried to cover up by telling her husband that it was her old self she had portrayed in Miss Brooke of Middlemarch, thus becoming indirectly responsible for the birth and flowering of the myth of Dr. Brabant. How Lewes, 'a very intimate friend at one moment' of Pattison, could have missed the true original of Mr. Casaubon is, perhaps, an enigma - but probably a rather minor one if it is to be compared with the enigma of almost three generations of friends, critics and scholars disbelieving their eyes and eventually producing Dr. Brabant as the Key to the Middlemarch Mythology. Lewes was a faithful and admiring husband and, as his own reputation was beginning to decline, he became his wife's secretary, amanuensis, critic and publicity officer, basking in her sunshine and helping her to bring out her genius. Like the Benedictine Professor of Zoology in the adage (and some of his latter-day imitators), he would probably say: 'As a natural historian, I submit that these are the bones of a donkey; as a faithful Christian, I worship the relics of the Saint'.

What, then, about Dr. Brabant? One remembers that there is little similarity between him and Mr. Casaubon of the novel - and he is never, to my knowledge, mentioned by any contemporary in relation to that reverend person. His revival - if one is not to call it an actual resurrection - is due mainly to people's reluctance to admit, in Dilke's own words, that 'the portrait of the author of the Life of Casaubon, under the name of Casaubon, was a cruel one', and that George Eliot, whom everyone admires as a novelist, was in her private life capable of such cruelty. Could it just be, as Mr. Sparrow thinks (14), a conspiracy between two high-minded women to revenge themselves in public in such a way? The answer now must be that George Eliot must have been capable of precisely this, and we have the opinion of Sir Charles Dilke on this point - a man who had no reason to like Pattison or wish to defend him. And we have the evidence of Professor Haight himself for the way in which George Eliot, under the guidance of Lewes, became almost offensively harsh on John Chapman, one of her first and most important literary patrons, once she felt she could do without him. It is all told in Professor Haight's George Eliot and John Chapman.

Shall we, then, leave the Doctor of Devizes to rest in peace? Perhaps

not entirely. His treatment of George Eliot, although it all happened many years before Middlemarch, could not be entirely forgotten. When Mrs. Pattison started talking 'over all affairs of the heart', the novelist may have been reminded of her own unfortunate affair with an elderly scholar, engaged on a 'major work', when she was as young and as full of ideas as Emilia Strong before her marriage. The portrait of Casaubon is, no doubt, essentially that of Pattison. But the similarity gave opportunity to revenge oneself on the poor Doctor as well. At one point, George Eliot probably decided to have a go at his miserable ghost, and she made Casaubon write a book on Mythology, Dr. Brabant's topic of research (15). Thus, having a quiet revenge on Brabant, she also managed to put in something of an alibi. After all, she could always claim that everyone knew Pattison had no interest in Mythology. The funny thing is, that this weak alibi has worked so well.

It is perhaps the similarity between the Brabant affair and Mrs. Pattison's version of her matrimonial problems that made George Eliot so interested in the latter. Strong biographical elements in most of George Eliot's novels have been pointed out by critics and scholars and are now common knowledge. In Middlemarch again we have a few of them, and the Casaubon-Dorothea affair, although based on a friend's more recent experience, was probably reinforced by a similar experience in the novelist's own past. If so, there may be something of young Marian Evans in Dorothea, and what she told Lewes - if, as I believe but cannot prove, she did tell him - was not a complete lie. It was rather a very useful half-truth.

I have no fresh evidence to offer in the case of Rhoda Broughton's Belinda. In the article quoted above, an attempt is made by the faithful D. S. MacColl to minimize - for even he cannot completely eliminate - the similarities. But the clues are too obvious, and it would be enough to point out the ones analysed by Mr. Sparrow on pp. 6 - 9. It is also known that Mrs. Pattison was a friend of Rhoda Broughton and confided in her, and the 'surprise party' story told by Mr. Sparrow on p. 9 is not likely to be just an accidental counterpart of Miss Broughton's description of a similar incident. But there may be more 'coincidences' of this kind, and their cumulative evidence may be relevant to more than the silly little novel concerned. I shall deal with some of them now.

2. Private Life of a Scholar.

In Dilke's Memoir to his wife quoted above (16), he tells us about 'all the time in 1859 and 1860 when I used (17) to be patronised by her, regarding her with the awe of a hobbledehoy of sixteen or seventeen towards a beautiful girl of nineteen or twenty'. This, like many other statements in that Memoir, can now be supplemented out of the long extract from Dilke's unpublished Diaries which I have printed above. He found Emilia Strong 'a rather terrible person for a boy of sixteen... but still worshipped her from afar, and she was very kind to me and used to talk to me a great deal'. Then, two years later, came her marriage to Mark Pattison, and from then until 1875 Dilke saw 'but very little' - notice that he does not say 'nothing' ! - 'of her, although I saw something of her husband'. It is just possible - we have, at the moment, no evidence to the contrary (18) - that for thirteen years, grande mortalis aevi spatium, there were hardly any relations between Dilke and Mrs. Pattison. That they completely forgot each other is less likely, or how would one explain the sudden flowering of more than a mere friendship the moment they were again 'introduced' in 1875?

In the lack of evidence, one can only speculate, and incur the wrath of the Faithful Ones, to whom Dr. Brabant is such a certainty.

As Mr. Sparrow has shown (pp. 8 - 9), the 'surprise party' episode in Belinda is almost certainly based on an actual event, in which the participants were Mrs. Pattison, her sister (Sarah of the novel??), a few undergraduates, and Pattison himself. Of these, only Pattison and his wife were friends of the novelist, wife more so than husband. Pattison was one of the most reserved persons on earth, and he would not talk over all affairs of the heart with most people - certainly not with Rhoda Broughton. Mrs. Pattison, we know, did confide in Miss Broughton, as Mr. Sparrow has pointed out. She may have been the source for more than one episode in the novel that ensued.

The reader of Belinda can hardly forget the awkward love affair between the heroine and the youthful undergraduate David Rivers. Rivers answers almost word for word to Dilke's description of his young self when he first knew Emilia Strong. He is a hobbledehoy - though probably older than sixteen or seventeen - who finds his beloved rather terrifying, but still worships from afar. His failure to express his love to Belinda is what eventually pushes her into the desperate and loveless marriage with that awful caricature of Pattison, Professor James Forth. But for eighteen months after Rivers has left her, she waits patiently and desperately for a sign of life from him (19). It is only after that period that, in a state of utter despair and prostration, she accepts the Professor's offer of marriage.

It may be of some significance that it was in 1859-60 that Dilke knew Emilia Strong, and that two years later she married Pattison. Can one be more precise? Dilke, we are told by his biographers, spent the summer of 1860 in France. Emilia Strong was almost certainly in Oxford during most of 1861: this is where Pattison proposed to her and where the marriage took place. If she saw anything of Dilke after he had left for France in the summer of 1860, we are not told, and from the way Dilke speaks, it looks as if she did not. It is not unlikely that eighteen months passed between Dilke's last meeting with Miss Strong and her acceptance of Pattison's offer of marriage. Miss Broughton mentions this figure a few times, with the vividness that reminds one of an actual fact.

For the benefit of defenders of the Brabant story - alas, there is no Brabant for Belinda, il faut l'inventer! - I shall go through one or two more episodes.

When Belinda meets Forth in the National Gallery to discuss the plans for their wedding (20), she makes it clear to him that he should not expect from her - his future wife - love or sympathy: she has none to offer. This is a strange expression, coming from a woman just to be engaged. But it strangely - or perhaps not all that strangely - corresponds to that little glimpse we get of the Pattisons' common life from a letter quoted by Mr. Sparrow on p.45. Mrs. Pattison is here speaking to her husband: 'You cannot forget that from the first I expressed the strongest aversion to that side of the common life' - 'that side' meaning the physical union between husband and wife. And if one needs more, there is that sentence in the extract from Dilke's Diaries, the only survivor of one of Mrs. Pattison's letters, which says: 'to give all to a woman who can only feel intense compassion, be patient and forbear' - with the excruciating asterisks that follow. Mrs. Pattison, like Belinda, made it clear 'from the first' that there was no love or sympathy in question.

It may not be an accident that yet another episode looks only too real, though one may never know its precise details. When, some time after Belinda's marriage to Forth, she meets Rivers again, she tells him, to his utter bewilderment, that her husband had left for Switzerland and, although she had asked him, would not take her with him on holiday which was mainly intended for his work (21). Here the resemblance is not to life, but to Middlemarch (22). Here Will Ladislaw - the David Rivers of Middlemarch - meets Dorothea on her honeymoon in Rome, neglected by her reverend husband, who left her to pursue his studies in the Vatican Library. The correspondence, if not precise, is

striking, and suggests the possibility of a similar episode in the life of the Pattisons.

What can one conclude from all this? Generally speaking, one can now say that there is definitely more to Belinda than what MacColl would have us believe. The rest is speculation, but I think that even the staunchest pupil of Carneades would admit that it has more probability in it than the Brabant theory, and further research into the Dilke Papers and other contemporary documents may even substantiate some of it. I submit that it is not unlikely that Emilia Strong, like Belinda in the novel, was actually in love with the young Dilke in her London days of 1859-60; that she still waited for that strangely precise period of eighteen months after she last saw him for him to declare his love for her, and only then, in despair, accepted Pattison's proposal of marriage. She made it clear to him from the first - here we are in the realm of facts - that there was going to be no love between them. It is possible that she did meet Dilke shortly after her marriage - even Dilke himself says he saw 'but little', not 'nothing', of her - and that she complained to him of the way in which her husband neglected her for his books (for the other side of the story she would not tell). Possible, since both novelists recount such an episode. The 'surprise party' episode, as we saw, almost certainly had its counterpart in real life, and one wonders whether, like Rivers in the novel, Dilke happened to be present in it, too. The eighteen months episode, with its similarity to what had actually happened, may provide us with yet another reason - perhaps more important than the ones advanced so far - for Emilia's acceptance of Pattison's proposal of marriage. Did she, like Belinda in the novel, think she had been jilted by the youthful Dilke? But I can now see the learned ghost of Dr. Brabant of Devizes advancing on me. I shall say no more on this point.

Naturally, the next problem is why, under such circumstances, did Pattison marry Emilia Strong? Although, now he was Rector, he was allowed to marry, there was no need for him to do so. For forty-eight years he had lived as a bachelor, and heads of colleges could live comfortably and respectably without ever getting married - Jowett never did. Why should Pattison marry, when the condition, 'from the first', is 'no love'?

The accepted version - with which Mr. Sparrow agrees (p.42), is that Pattison did not marry out of love. Casaubon's formal letter is quoted in evidence, and no suggestion is made that this may be due to Pattison's almost pathological shyness and reserve, which could only make it more difficult to him, at the age of forty-eight, to declare his love as a reason for asking the hand of a woman who was so much younger. The phrase 'marriage of minds' occurs a few times, and its use in Mr. Robert Liddell's The Almond Tree - which, we are told by Mr. Sparrow (note, p.30) is based on a good knowledge of the Pattison MSS in the Bodley- makes it likely that it originated with the Pattisons themselves.

This is quite possible. Both Pattison and his wife may have coined this phrase for the 'benefit' of the public when the failure of their marriage became obvious. 'I married him for his mind' is a better and nicer version for the public consumption than 'I did not really love him', and it is likely that this was Mrs. Pattison's way of putting the matter.

It seems obvious, however, that Pattison could not always make himself accept that horrible condition put to him 'from the first', and the first letter quoted by Mr. Sparrow on p.45 can show this. Pattison was always attracted to women, and in their company he was less reserved than in the company of most men. His later affair with Meta Bradley shows that he, at least, was not quite happy with a 'marriage of minds'. Meta had no mind, but to Pattison she was an attractive woman. So, for that matter, was Emilia Strong to many of her contemporaries. Is it not possible that her mind was only one factor in making Pattison propose to her? 'From the first', she made it clear to

the Rector that there was no love in store for him. He had no need to proceed with the marriage - that is, unless he thought that things might sort themselves out and love might come with the growing intimacy. It was a risk to take, a risk that only a man in love would dare to ignore.

It is now acknowedged by many that Pattison's book on Milton, first printed in 1879, in the English Men of Letters series of which John Morley was then the editor, 'is really a concealed autobiography' (23). The admission is almost made by Pattison himself when he writes at the beginning of the book (24): 'Milton himself, with a superb and ingenuous egotism, has revealed the secret of his thoughts and feelings in numerous autobiographical passages of his prose writings. From what he directly communicates, and from what he unconsciously betrays, we obtain an internal life of the mind' etc. The Rector of Lincoln was, perhaps, not unlike his hero in this respect: in some respects he was always a little like his chosen heroes. Let us hear, then, what he has to say on the early stages of Milton's first marriage (25):

> 'The biographer, acquainted with the event, has no difficulty in predicting it, and in saying at this point in the story, that Milton might have known better than, with his puritanical connections, to have taken to wife a daughter of a cavalier house, to have brought her from a roystering home, frequented by the dissolute officers of the Oxford garrison, to the spare diet and philosophical retirement of a recluse student, and to have looked for sympathy and response for his speculations from an uneducated and frivolous girl. Love has blinded, and will continue to blind, the wisest men to calculations as easy and as certain as these. And Milton, in whose soul Puritan austerity was as yet only contending with the more genial currents of humanity, had a far greater than average susceptibility to the charm of women'.

The ghost of Dr. Brabant is still standing by me, forcefully pushing me into further speculation, and I cannot but succumb to it.

The book on Milton, as we have just mentioned, was published under the editorship of John Morley, and in 1879. Morley himself had been an undergraduate in Lincoln, and knew Pattison later on committees, as he tells us in his essay on Pattison's Memoirs. One cannot know whether it was Morley who suggested Milton's life as the Rector's contribution to the Series he was editing, or whether the choice of topic was left to the Rector himself (26). But it may be more than a mere accident that in 1879, the year of Mark Pattison's meeting with Meta Bradley, he would accept an invitation to write a book on Milton, describing the poet's first marriage which, in its early stages, so much resembled his own, and dedicating nearly a whole chapter to Milton's Pamphlets on Divorce. In 1879, when Emilia's friendship with Dilke was no secret, and when Pattison met Meta, divorce - and, one assumes, marriage to Meta - was what Pattison needed. As Rector of Lincoln and a man in Holy Orders this was inconceivable in life, but one could always write on the subject in a book.

I could have finished this part of my discussion here, but for the brilliant suggestion made by Mr. Sparrow on pp. 17 - 18 about 'life imitating art'. Here, again, the shades of Dr. Brabant call on me to speculate again - I hope, for the last time.

Was George Eliot really a prophet when she introduced Will Ladislaw and made Dorothea marry him after Casaubon's death? Obviously, she could hardly predict in 1871 - 2 what would happen in 1885. But was the future so very difficult to guess?

One remembers that, at the time Middlemarch was written, Emilia was already George Eliot's 'Figliuolina', who talked to her 'over all affairs of the heart'. If some of my former hypotheses are more than pure speculations, a certain

young man she had met in Kensington and who, she thought at some stage, had jilted her, must have formed part of these confidences. If the meeting episode, related in both novels, is taken from life, and it is one of those confidences that was responsible for the meeting between Dorothea and Will in Rome, the novelist could not be unaware of the fact that her own Dorothea was still in love with her real Will. It was only in January 1872, when Middlemarch was half way through, that Dilke actually married his first wife. Her death two years later could not, of course, be predicted. But when Middlemarch was conceived and the plot elaborated, Emilia's possible marriage to Dilke, if only she could, was a fairly likely event to a close friend. In order to do so in the novel, one had only to kill the old husband and make the young love flourish again. This was easy in a novel, but it was not so difficult in actual life. Pattison may have been a hypochondriac, but at times he was seriously ill, and the chances that he would die any time were quite strong. I am not denying that life imitated art - and did it with a vengeance by killing the first Lady Dilke to make room for the second. But art had not made it too difficult for life to produce the imitation.

'Life imitated art again when Pattison died', says Mr. Sparrow (p.17). But this, I think, was a conscious imitation which shows Pattison's sense of irony at its desperate best. By the time he made his will the first Lady Dilke was long dead, and the friendship between Dilke and Emilia was already much more than a nodding acquaintance. Divorce, the solution to Pattison's and Meta's problem as well as that of the Dilkes, was out of the question. Pattison knew his days were numbered, and now it was quite predictable that, when he left the scene, his own Dorothea would marry her Ladislaw as soon as this could be done without offence. He could not only help his beloved Meta, but also give posterity a clear indication that he had realized what Middlemarch was about, by playing Casaubon to the bitter end.

3. Pattison's Oxford

There is hardly anything an amateur could add to the professional knowledge of two experts. I shall therefore make use of the common exam. trick of talking at large on a subject one knows, whatever its relevance to the actual question. It is Pattison's character as a scholar that will interest me, and bore my readers, for the next few pages.

The natural starting-point is, perhaps, Pattison's much-quoted definition of learning. 'Learning', he says (27), 'is a peculiar compound of memory, imagination, scientific habit, accurate observation, all concentrated, through a prolonged period, on the analysis of the remains of literature. The result of this sustained mental effort is not a book, but a man. It cannot be embodied in print, it consists in the living word. Such a man', he says a little later, 'was Isaac Casaubon'.

Such a man, one is tempted to say, was Mark Pattison - and perhaps not even he. That there are people whose personality cannot be adequately gauged from their writing is true. Such a man, we are told, was Sir Philip Sidney. Johnson might have been another, had he not met his Boswell. Richard Thomson, Casaubon's great and faithful friend at Cambridge, was yet another one. But to apply Pattison's definition in its entirety to Casaubon seems to me a mistake caused by unnecessary wishful thinking. That we have all been taken in by it at some stage is a proof of the power of Pattison's writings.

That the result of true learning is not a book, but a man is obvious - and the force of scholarly personality is what strikes one about the Bentleys and Porsons and Scaligers of this world, even when they deviate from the truth and make themselves an easy prey to the dwarfish 'ludimagistri'. But that this 'cannot be embodied in print, but consists in the living word'

is not always the case - or else we could not have possessed such a living picture of Isaac Casaubon as we have in Pattison's own book. If we did not possess Casaubon's letters and diaries, much of the living personality would be lost, but we could still gain a fairly clear impression of the man, or at least of his scholarly personality. And, after all, even Casaubon's letters and diaries are not quite 'the living word'.

Pattison, however, had to justify his own lack of what the present-day scholar would unashamedly call productivity. After all, he was one of the most learned men of his times, but so many of his lesser contemporaries had written so much more. When he was still a tutor, he gained a reputation for the wide Classical knowledge he possessed, and his lectures on Aristotle were among the best one could hear in Oxford. But he never, to my knowledge, made any contribution in print to Classical scholarship. His later project, the massive History of Scholarship after the Renaissance, was never quite completed. Being unable - as he later admitted in his Memoirs - to concentrate on one subject for very long, he kept writing his brilliant essays on various modern topics, made a few contributions to English literary history, and spent much of his time on trying to make his own University more of the centre of learning and culture he wished it to be. For many people, this would be achievement enough - and the book on Casaubon, written almost in a race against time, domestic problems and ill health, is an achievement to crown it all. But Pattison was familiar with the academic life of Germany, a country which, at that time, was leading the world in most academic subjects, and where Classical scholars worked hard and published much on many subjects, in the best traditions of Pattison's own post-Renaissance heroes (28). Pattison himself set the German universities as an ideal to be followed in his book on academic organization. He had to justify his own failure to conform to standards of efficiency he so highly recommended. In his Memoirs he admits that this was partly the result of one of the major traits in his own character - a fact which was also noticed by his pupil and friend John Morley in his essay on his master's posthumous book. In his definition of learning he tried, perhaps unconsciously, to give another justification, by emphasizing the role of the scholar's personality to the belittlement of his actual output. As I said, there is much truth in this - but not the whole truth, and certainly not when applied to the indefatigable Casaubon.

The irony of the situation is that in the case of Pattison himself, it is not 'the living word', or what has come down to us of it from contemporary accounts, one turns to if one is looking for the best and more lasting significance of Pattison's personality - it is his books. 'He was', says Mr. Sparrow (p.2), 'the most perfect English example of an uncommon type - the man whose life was dedicated to his mind'. Hardly the impression one gets from most contemporary accounts of 'the dried bookworm'. But when we turn to his books, the impression is different. 'Pattison's writings', says Lloyd-Jones (29), 'constitute a protreptic towards scholarship that has rare power; they make one realize what he, during his life, did for his friends and his pupils'. Precisely, but one has to turn to his writings. Most contemporary accounts, based on 'the living word' portray only the rigid, formal and slightly ridiculous front which the Rector chose to present to most people. The novelists - except for the more perceptive Mrs. Humphrey Ward, not as great a novelist as George Eliot, but perhaps a more civilized person in her quiet way - made him into a monster fit for a caricature. Another contemporary account, which should be mentioned here if only because I do not see it mentioned in any work on Pattison, is George Saintsbury's story of his meeting with the Rector in his Second Scrap Book, pp. 45 ff. Saintsbury was an intelligent man, who became a good scholar - but he certainly did not penetrate behind the successful front. One fares a little better when one turns to the account of Pattison as a tutor by his pupil Richard Copley Christie - his only direct disciple in the field of the History of Scholarship, who also wrote the entry on Mark Pattison in the DNB (30). But even Christie's account does not get right to the core, and is much occupied with externals. Perhaps the best

essay written by a contemporary is that by John Morley (31). Morley knew the Rector in many ways, and he puts his finger on some of his real shortcomings. He gives, perhaps, the best answer to the problem of latent, and never quite fulfilled, greatness. But when one wants to see that unfulfilled greatness at its best, it is still to Pattison's books one turns - as he himself turned to Milton's books - to discover the 'internal life of the mind'.. The living word, which involves contact with the 'persona' of the man concerned, with all his manners and mannerisms, some of them not so pleasant, with which he preferred to present 'a world he never made' and which ended up as part of his external character - this sort of 'living word' tends to obscure the inner life which only the books reveal.

4. The Idea of a University.

Here I leave the realm of facts, evidence, even of speculations, and enter for a short while into the troubled waters of controversy. I do it very reluctantly, and mainly because I have found much in one of the reviews of Mr. Sparrow's book that is thought-provoking in the most literal sense.

Mr. Sparrow is known to be a reactionary, who stands for much that is now under attack in Oxford and elsewhere. He is against most changes in the college system, for keeping the traditional character of his own College, devoted almost entirely to research and study, and has dared to express his doubts about some of the proposals of Lord Franks' Commission. His steps have been closely watched for some time, and he has been a constant subject of attacks. This he should expect, just as Pattison in his time was prepared for Jowett's powerful and successful opposition. Now that he has produced such a splendid precedent in his support, another attack was inevitable. It is not surprising that it came from a person of Lord Annan's opinions - though it is surprising how close the attack gets at times to personal abuse of the man John Sparrow, not just criticism of the Warden's opinions.

There is not much to say on Lord Annan's first point, that Pattison was an unattractive character and that there seems to be no point in bringing him back to life. That his external personality was unattractive is clear, and Lord Annan joins many of Pattison's contemporaries in looking to outside appearances when trying to understand the inner man. In Pattison, as we have seen, there was a huge discrepancy between the cold and rigid front which he tried successfully to present to an alien world and the internal personality, which only his books - and, to a less extent, his teaching - at times betrayed. This is one of the main points that Mr. Sparrow is trying to make in his book. If it has not been realized, we are back to square one, and may be better advised to gloat over our Middlemarches and Belindas again.

But Lord Annan's main attack is not directed against Pattison the man but against the ideals he stood for. One should pass in silence his advice tc the Warden of All Souls to go abroad like Pattison, 'to Germany certainly - to California - to Japan', so that he could change his own reactionary mind on the subject of University Reform, and probably realize that it is time to turn the old College into a University of Technology. Mr. Sparrow may change his mind some time on details of university organization. But, like Pattison, he is not likely to relinquish his opinions on the difference between liberal and professional education. Why should he? What proof have his critics that their approach is the right one, except that, at present, worldly success is on their side? And why should universities be concerned chiefly with worldly success?

'Unfortunately', says Lord Annan, 'Mr. Sparrow seems to think that the intellect can be disinterested only when it confines itself to those subjects which he classes as liberal studies and must be corrupted if the subject studied can be shown to have a direct bearing on life'.

One should check the tendency to ask, with the modern philosopher, what one means by 'life' and 'a direct bearing' on it. But it may not be useless to point out that neither Mr. Sparrow, nor his hero Pattison, were all that silly. After all, there are things - all of us would agree they were unattractive - which happened within living memory in Germany certainly, and in Japan. They are proof, if one needs one, that the intellect can be disinterested in the pursuit of subjects which have, in any sense of this phrase, a powerfully direct bearing on life - the production, for example, of nuclear weapons, or the scientific elimination of an inferior race. The emotions involved may not be disinterested. But if, in the actual performance of these tasks, the intellect were not, the objects of these emotions could not have been brought about. I do not think Mr. Sparrow - or anybody - needs to be reminded of this.

The point is, that the disinterested exercise of the intellect - what Pattison called 'scientific habit' - is only one objective of a liberal education. It is not an unimportant one, but it is there to serve a purpose, and when it is used to serve any other purpose one can say that liberal education has failed. Again, one should resist the temptation to talk about the etymology of the word 'liberal' - we still know Latin nowadays. But one may, perhaps, refer to the writings of a Fellow of Lord Annan's old College, Mr. E. M. Forster, where the problem is discussed in a way that may be less unsympathetic to Lord Annan than the ideals of the Warden of All Souls.

'His analysis of Pattison's life and dilemmas', says Lord Annan in his review of Mr. Sparrow's book, 'is convincing precisely because it is a defence'. This one may doubt. It is only a defence inasmuch as it tries to show that, although Pattison was a failure in the eyes of the world of Jowett and success, he may not have been such a failure after all in the world of scholarship and ideas. This, I think, is correct. It is true that, in his own time, Jowett was fairly successful in turning much of Oxford into a prep. school for politicians and civil servants. But it was the Oxford of Jowett, malgré lui, which produced Housman, and it was Pattison's personal influence which, at last, saw a scholar of European reputation like Bywater inherit the Regius chair and return Oxford to the front ranks of scholarship. Much that is good in academic Oxford today is due to the influence and encouragement given almost a hundred years ago by Pattison and his friends. The Wilcoxes have always had the funny knack of appearing to win the day, but the influence of the Schlegels survives behind the scenes and is still at work when many people have taken it to have long been dead. The present book is a testimony to this.

J. GLUCKER.

NOTE: As usual, no satisfactory work could have been carried out in the library conditions of this Faithful City, and one is grateful to those who have kindly helped: to the Librarian of the London Library for the usual efficient help in the loan of books; to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to read the Dilke papers; to the Devon and Exeter Institution Library and the Exeter Cathedral Library for existing and possessing books which the University Library could not possibly obtain nowadays - and, last but not least, to Mrs. M. Connolly and Miss S. Gayton of Exeter University Library for their patience and efficiency in obtaining the sine qua non for any research in Exeter: inter-library loans.

N O T E S :

1. When I was reading the Dilke Papers in the British Museum, I noticed a student sitting at the same table and reading other volumes of the same collection. I went over and had a few words with him, in case he could help me with some practical information. He admitted that he was working on Dilke, but his main interest was in politics, and he knew very little of

the second Lady Dilke. 'Wasn't she married to a clergyman of some sort before she became Lady Dilke?' I am grateful to this anonymous student for telling me a thing or two about the Dilke Papers which I did not know. But it is sad to see that even an expert can only remember Pattison as 'a clergyman of some sort'.

2. Mark Pattison and the Idea of a University by John Sparrow, Cambridge University Press, 1967. The passage just quoted is from p.1.
3. Oxford Common Room, A study of Lincoln College and Mark Pattison, by V. H. H. Green, Fellow and Senior Tutor of Lincoln College. London, Arnold, 1957.
4. Greek Studies in Modern Oxford, An Inaugural Lecture.. by Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1961, pp. 7 - 9.
5. For example: Raymond Mortimer in The Sunday Times, 7 May, 1967; John Gross in The Observer of the same date; Anonymus Londinensis in The Times Literary Supplement, May 11th, 1967, pp. 389 - 391; Noel Annan in The New Statesman, 14 July 1967, p. 52 (Title: Major Barbara at Work). Of all these reviews, which have raised some cogent as well as some irrelevant problems, I shall only touch on Lord Annan's article, which, it will be seen, is not just a review.
6. A Memoir of the Author by the Right Hon. Sir Charles W. Dilke, Bt., M.P., in Lady Dilke's The Book of the Spiritual Life, London 1905, p.17.
7. Rhoda Broughton and Emilia Pattison, in The Nineteenth Century, January 1945, p.31. Both references quoted by Mr. Sparrow in note to p.42.
8. The George Eliot Correspondence, vol. V, London 1956, note 5, pp. 38 - 9; George Eliot and John Chapman, Yale, 1940, pp. 23 - 25.
9. George Eliot and John Chapman, p.25, quoting Eliza Lynn.
10. The George Eliot Letters, vol. V, p. 304.
11. Ibid. p. 308.
12. British Museum Additional MS 43932, pp. 137 - 144 (Dilke's Diaries for 1875.)
13. Add. MS 43903, p.19.
14. p. 17.
15. See passage quoted by Haight which I mention in note 9 above.
16. Op. Cit. note 6 above, p.9.
17. Not 'loved' - an interesting slip in Gwynn and Tuckwell vol. I, p. 17.
18. Though, seeing what Dilke's public statements can be like, I should not preclude the possibility of some more significant finds among his unpublished papers. After all, as I shall presently show, there probably was at least one meeting.
19. Belinda, Period II, chapter I. Vol. I, p.270 in the original 1883 edition.
20. 1883 edition, vol. II, pp. 26 ff. Here the proposal had already taken place behind the scenes. But why bother? After all, the letter had already been scooped in Middlemarch.
21. 1883 ed., vol. III, p. 111 ff.
22. Book II, chapter XX ff.
23. Op. cit., pp. 8 - 9.
24. 1885 ed., p. 2.
25. Same ed., p. 53.
26. I have written to Mr. P. N. Furbank of Macmillans and Co., the original publishers, but he could find no correspondence in the archives between Morley and Pattison about this book.
27. Isaac Casaubon, 2nd edition, p. 435.
28. Pattison was a personal friend of Jacob Bernays, who, both in the quantity of his output and wide range of interest came very near to the great Scaliger himself. In the Appendix to his book on academic organization, p. 341 ff. Pattison gives a list of lectures given in Leipsic University in 1866 - 7. It includes the names of such prolific and efficient scholars as Klotz, Ahrens, Overbeck, Curtius the grammarian, and the great Ritschl himself.
29. p. 9.
30. Selected Essays and Papers of Richard Copley Christie.. London 1902, p.XV.
31. On Pattison's Memoirs, in The Works of Viscount Morley, vol. VI, London 1921, pp. 235 - 267.

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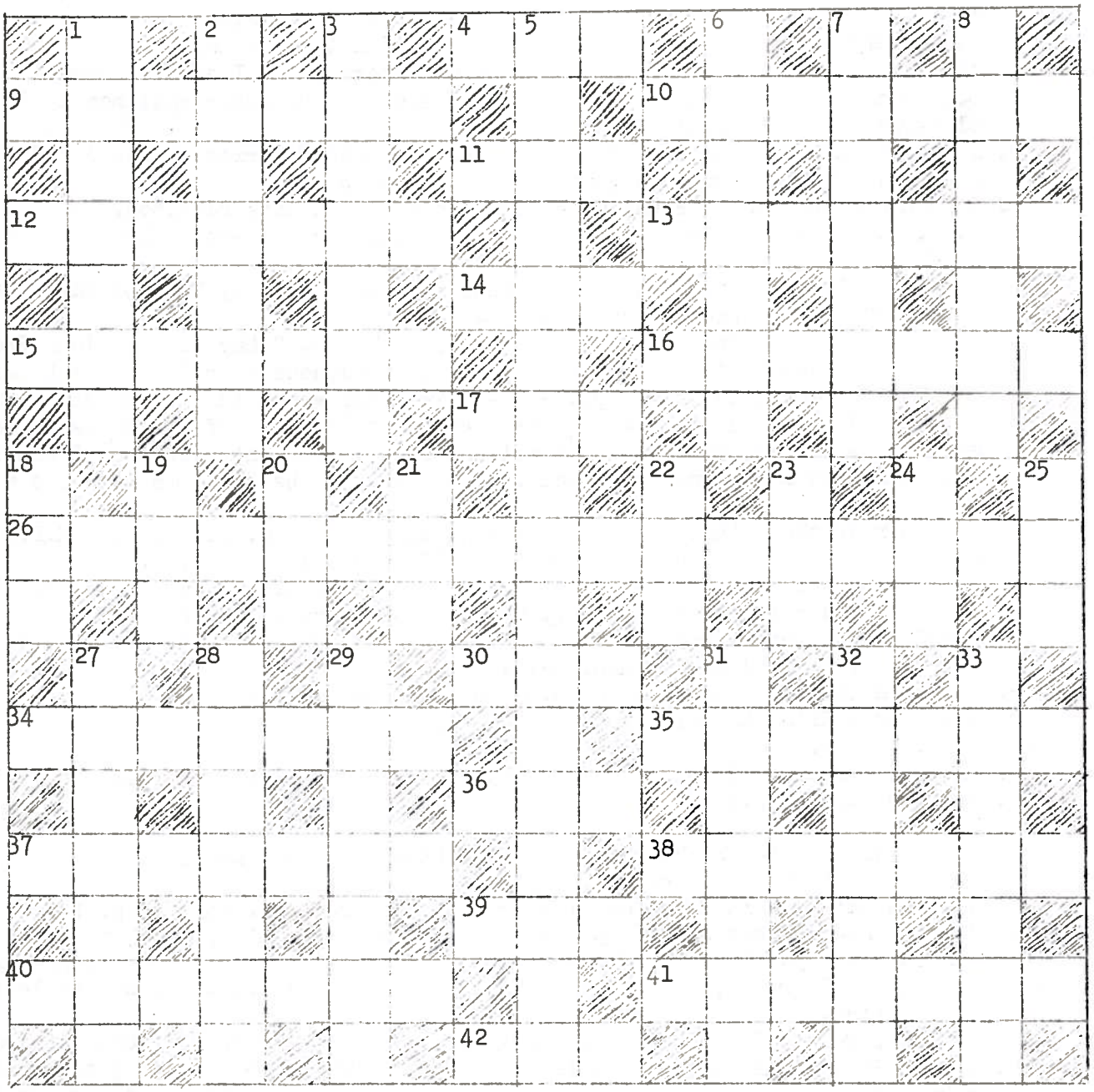
CROSSWORD



CLUES ACROSS:

4. Only short operations needed to hear very differently (3)
9. He may be found, torch in hand, in all but a small part of such a city. (7).
10. With a sail on a French lake you are sure to find someone wealthy. (7).
11. Somewhere in a deme along the river Cephisus, whichever way you approach (3)
12. Famous for roses, but seems somewhat a nuisance these days. (7).
13. 'Last' case of a fortunate apologist. (7).
14. A different kind of help will provide a vantage point for observing a war (3).
15. Hesiod's 'lovers of sport and dancers'. (7)
16. Put a rat into the French court and you'll need someone to take care of it (7).
17. It may be sharp, but get under it for the open air (3).
26. He was rather grand to start with, but then went quite low down, so that finally he even seemed small, comic in a Roman way. (9, 6)
30. Doubtfully tragic; appears at the end. (3)
34. An English feline with its very own feminine objects is a strange mixture in an expedition (7)
35. An A.A. grant will take you to a poetess's birthplace. (7)
36. St. Jean d'Acre was once a champion (3)
37. Sprang from the sea? Partner has an aircraft (7)

38. There are theories attached to it which are at opposite ends of the pole; the tag somewhere inside shows it's in the east. (7).
39. Usually serious; in the seat of a once famous philosophical school (3).
40. You and I, the Exe and other things may make good the deficiency (7)
41. You and Gorgo (French-wise of course) have learned connections with Aristotle
42. I'm buying my own in one case (3). (7).

CLUES DOWN

1. An orator and a grammarian shared it. (7)
2. "Troianoque a sanguine clarus ....." Vergil (7)
3. Put a rug in a French bucket - and watch the birds! (7)
5. Apparently contradictory doctrines of philosophers, most included in some form. (8, 9)
6. It's the rains, you see, which crushed the "corrector Venetiae". (7)
7. Early rising legion from Gaul? (7)
8. A small change would make what is already high of chief importance. (7).
18. "hominem sine re, sine fide, sine ..." Cicero (3)
19. My present action is connected with the exception of 39 Across. (3)
20. English suffix in new form sheds unusual tears (3)
21. Unlike others he has no genes, and I somehow hate him. (3).
22. He turns completely around to sleep a little (3)
23. It involves you as well as us, but to no disadvantage. (3)
24. What I am doing now is a simple change from 19 Down. (3)
25. Found in a tribe of N. W. Spain; but that's only the beginning of the matter
27. Even the sun is found in this tract of water! (7) (3)
28. Intellectual courtesan (7)
29. Add a flower to a form of transport for an Egyptian king. (7)
31. Country-man turned heathen. (7)
32. Her special power extends to all. (7)
33. Victim who was "impar congressus Achilli" Vergil (7).

NOTE: Answers will be published in the next issue.

MARGARET V. MATTHEWS

A hitherto unpublished poem by Sir Walter Raleigh

There was once an old thinker called Plato
Who had no Idea of Potato;
So no fish and chips
Could e'er pass the lips
Of the Guards in his Ideal State, O.

F.D.H.

R. F. Paget, IN THE FOOTSTEPS OF ORPHEUS, Hale, London, 1967.
Pp. 208. Cloth, 30/-.

This book was sent to me by Mr. John D. Christie who had already drawn attention in the text to some thirty separate errors in proper names alone (such as Dionysius for Dionysus throughout, Archaemenides for Achaemenides, Aenid for Aeneid, Phaedra for Phaedrus); to an incomplete index (after Trophonius, for example, add 108, 147, 149ff, 169); and to chronological errors such as calling Martial a friend of Horace (p. 26), although Horace died in 8 B.C. and Martial was born in 40 A.D. This was not the most fortunate of introductions to the book. It would have been to Dr. Paget's advantage to have consulted a classicist about the references; but clearly the proof-readers and printers also have let him down.

In this book Dr. Paget describes the reasons which led him to explore the many tunnels in and around Baiae. He claims to have found the lost entrance to Hades and the River Styx, the Oracle of the Dead in the land of the Cimmerians visited by both Odysseus and Aeneas. For this thesis he adopts the Italian tradition of Strabo for Odysseus, rather than, for example, the Gibraltar identifications of Bradford and Pocock (whom he does not mention). He is not therefore the first to give the Homeric Nekyia a physical foundation (cf. p.96), but his claim to have found the very Oracle of which Vergil's account of the Underworld is an eye-witness description, is of great interest.

The theme is surely exciting and the author shares the spirit of his discovery with the reader. Maiuri identified the Oracle of the Sibyl in the Cumaean acropolis in 1932; and now Paget claims to have found the Oracle of the Dead. According to Vergil and tradition this should have been located at Avernus (and the Grotto della Sibilla, which opens from the south shore of Lake Avernus, has its supporters), but the author was led instead to Baiae.

The actual site of the Nekyomanteion is cut into Baiae's rising hillside beneath the Thermae (baths) of Sosandra. Under this ruin the author found a long tunnel (it is marked by dotted lines in the map in Maiuri, The Phlegraean Fields, p.70) which the Italian excavators had abandoned in 1958 partly because of the unhealthy air, partly because they were convinced that nothing of great importance was to be found beneath the Thermae. In this Dr. Paget believed they were greatly mistaken. With courage and engineering skill he penetrated to the end of this tunnel-complex; what started as a single tunnel branched into two (the "Dividing of the Ways" cf. Aen. VI, 540) and led to an Inner Sanctuary on an upper level and, on a lower level, to steaming water which has been named the River Styx - both levels are connected by galleries at the terminus. Certain small vaulted rooms were also discovered in which the Cimmerians ("priests of the Oracle" p.99) are said to have lived.

Not only are the stages in the discovery described (with helpful illustrations - except that Monte Nuovo is surely closer to L. Avernus than Fig. 1 suggests), but the ritual journey itself is reconstructed to show how Aeneas' journey, when "stripped of poetic imagery", exactly follows the topography of the Oracle. We are informed that, with Aeneid VI in mind, one easily recognises the Dividing of the Ways, the Entrance to Tartarus, the River Styx, and the Twin Gates of Horn and Ivory. (At the Dividing of the Ways one door swings to shut either entrance; it is presumed that Ivory faces the exit from the Sanctuary, Horn faces the inside of the tunnel which was originally entered on the right.) The reconstruction is ingenious, but it is here that, to my mind, Paget's thesis shows its weakness: for surely the Styx is crossed well before the Dividing of the Ways (cf. Aen. VI, 384ff, 540 with pp. 164-5). This the topography of the tunnel (the Styx is at the end of the lower level) will not permit. The author offers no explanation to cover the difficulty. It is, of course, possible that Vergil visited this tunnel (as well as others in the Avernus area) and simply moved awkward details to suit his own purposes.

This would be characteristically Vergilian. We might then say that the tunnel bears a general relation to Vergil's Underworld. But I cannot share the author's conviction that this was the Oracle of the Dead specifically and exactly followed in the Homeric and Vergilian accounts.

As for the archaeological evidence, all the masonry is Roman except for some fallen marble columns ("cyclopean blocks") dated by M. W. Frederiksen to the sixth or fifth century. (I find that Maiuri, op. cit. p.73, dates a statue of Sosandra, found on the site, to the first half of the fifth century.) This does not take us back to the Cimmerians who lived in Homer's time (Homer lived 1,000 B.C. on pp. 31 and 90; 800 B.C. on pp. 87 and 154; 800 or 900 B.C. on p. 155), but Paget is convinced that further investigation of the tunnel - all the rubble deposited by Agrippa in his attempt to close the Oracle has not yet been cleared - will support his claim. I find it a curious feature of Baiaean archaeology that many buildings originally thought to be temples (Temples of Venus, Mercury, Diana) are now known to be Thermae; and that what has been known hitherto as the Thermae of Sosandra Paget now claims to be a Temple of Apollo (no inscription: the prophetic element alone fixes the deity). It should, I think, be pointed out that whereas Paget (p.86) rejects the interpretation of the vaulted houses as "service" areas for slaves and stores in favour of associating them with the religious purposes of the Cimmerians, Maiuri had already suggested (op. cit. p.75) that these subterranean rooms were probably used by slaves and freedmen for religious purposes.

The search for the Oracle proper does not begin until p.83. Up to this point we are prepared for what is to come by two chapters on the Phlegraean Fields and on Orphism. Mr. W. K. C. Guthrie's Orpheus and (the) Greek Religion appears to be the only source for the Orpheus chapter, but instead of Guthrie's critical judgements we find in Paget's account that "the conjecture of the specialist becomes the certainty of the layman" (I. M. Linforth, The Arts of Orpheus, p.xi - a work which Paget might have consulted with profit). Other parts of the book are equally uncritical. For example on p.42: "Elysium is ruled over by Cronos (Time). It lies very near to the Kingdom of Hades, but does not belong to him. Further west still are the Fortunate Islands, reserved for those who have been thrice reborn on Earth and thrice attained Elysium." This conglomeration never has existed. Elysium may be said to lie close to "Hades" according to Vergil (with the reservation that Vergil speaks always of Dis or Orcus, never of Hades), but the case is less certain in Homer (Od. IV, 561f) where the Elysian Plain seems to be above the surface at the ends of the earth. Elysium (or rather the Fortunate Islands!) is no doubt ruled over by Cronos in Hesiod (Works and Days 169) and possibly in Pindar (Ol.II, 70); but this is certainly not stated in Homer (Od. IV, 561f) or Vergil (Aen. VI, 637ff). Finally, no such distinction should be made between the Fortunate Islands and Elysium. The thrice-born motif appears in Pindar (Ol. II, 68-9: the precise meaning is disputed), but not in Homer, Hesiod, or Vergil; and Pindar speaks only of the Fortunate Islands (like Hesiod) and never of Elysium. I am afraid that Freud was right to say that we love to fill in the gaps, but Paget's over-simplification just will not do. The general thesis is, of course, unaffected by the criticism in this last paragraph, but the experience is unnerving.

It is as well that the author has put his find on the map and as a first-hand record of a bold and imaginative piece of excavation, the book makes interesting reading; but one is left doubting whether he has really shown that the "pundits" (unspecified! p.96) are altogether wrong.

RAYMOND J. CLARK

THE 'DE MURIBUS'

The origins of the English nursery rhyme, Three Blind Mice, spuriously named, as I shall show, are, most scholars of any note whatsoever agree, to be found in a Latin MS found at Leyden in the ninth century by Archetypus. He says in Vol. 2 of his works - "Ciceronis codicem de muribus inveni." From the monk's name the MS is called the Archetype. This Archetype, since lost, was the source of many copies - now also lost. Cicero's story is a metaphorical reference to the Catilinarian conspiracy, a metaphor which would be obvious to the Roman of the time in view of C. Opius' account of the farmer's wife, who, during the invasion by mice of Faesulae in 65 B.C., was gnawed whilst preparing her husband's gruel. Cicero sees himself as the farmer's wife and the conspirators as the mice - in fact, a typical Ciceronian attempt at self-aggrandisement.

After its rediscovery, the work became versified and spread through Europe, owing to its popularity with strolling troubadours. It was known at the court of Charlemagne, who called it "La chanson très belle, mais de la tristesse". It was assimilated by Marie de France into the Celtic background of the Breton lays. Through her influence it reached England; the period is unknown, but certainly before Chaucer. By this time the Catilinarian reference was but dimly realised and mice had become associated with evil - see the old English expression 'as drunk as a mouse': Chaucer, the Knight's Tale (sic) 1261 'he that dronke is as a mous'. And just as other similar songs have historic origins of a sinister nature, such as Oranges and Lemons, and Ring a ring o' roses, so the fourteenth century saw the erosion of the serious historical allusion which underlay the work. Right through the middle ages to the present day, the mouse has never recovered from the stigma attached to it by Cicero - for there is no pre-Ciceronian reference to the extreme evil of the mouse - despite even the attempts of Rabbie Burns, in his poem: "Wee, sleekit, cow'rin', tim'rous beastie, etc.' to restore the rodent to its pristine innocence. Burns' sympathetic treatment has failed to shake the common abhorrence felt towards the mouse today, especially by women.

In this edition I have reconstructed Cicero's text in English as far as possible; I have had to part the dense undergrowth of the corruption inherent in so flimsy an oral tradition. The source for the extant version is a seventeenth century printed codex, in English, known as M.

I am deeply indebted in this article to Dr. Blofeld of Stoke University, and his article in Classical Quinquennium of 1964, (vol. 23), page 7, on 'Cicero in the Potteries'.

M. TULLI CICERONIS DE MURIBUS LIBER

1 One hundred and eleven bald mice,
2 see how they ran; they all ran off
3 to the farmer's wife, who cut off
4 their heads with the carving-knife. You
5 never saw such a thing in your life
6 as one hundred and eleven bald mice.

Line 1: Three blind mice - M. Obviously there were more than three conspirators; but the confusion is easily resolved when one remembers that the numeral can be written III, easily enough mistaken for 3.

Blind - here it is clear that Archetype read calvi - bald, not caeci. Blind would certainly imply the stupidity of the conspirators, but also a pity entirely inconsistent with Cicero's treatment of them. Bald, however, was a well-known term of abuse - see Suet. Caes. 51, calvus moechus.

M repeats line 1, and line 2 - a very obvious dittography.

Line 2: run - M. Obviously the phrase is Cicero proclaiming to the plebs the death of the conspirators with the moral lesson: 'See what happens to traitors'. Probably the famous word, vixerunt, was in the line and has dropped out.
ran - M. The different tenses used by M in the same line show its inconsistency and general lack of worth.
after - M. If the mice ran after the farmer's wife, which is,anyhow, inconsistent with Cicero's metaphor, how could she cut off their tails? I have, in fact, myself conducted experiments, trying whilst running in front of a mouse, to decapitate it, and found the task physically impossible - so accomplishing this feat on three mice is hardly acceptable.

Line 4: tails M. Why cut off the tails? This would not only remove the appendage of most use in catching or retaining a mouse, but probably not cause the animal mortal harm. Smith has suggested that 'caeci' in line 1, which is spurious anyway, was in line 3, and referred to the farmer's wife - consequently her aim was bad and she only cut off the tails instead of the heads. Obviously Archetype read 'capita' and has been corrupted to 'caudas'. Smith also suggests, following his logical but laughable theory, that in line 4 the sense should be 'by mistake', not 'with the carving knife'. The original word 'fallitur', natural if she is'caeca',became corrupted to'falce'. The interpretation of classical texts would be much easier without such tiresome meddlers.

Line 5. Did you ever see - M. Cicero would clearly not ask so foolish a question - it is reasonable to assume that one hundred and eleven bald mice were not a common sight in Rome.

HENRY GILLETT

A NEW FRAGMENT OF HERACLITUS?

One of the most interesting and entertaining of Lucian's satirical dialogues is the Vitarum Auctio. This is a long and elaborate sketch representing a slave market. Zeus and Hermes are putting up for sale some of the most famous philosophers in Greek history, who are cross-examined by the prospective buyers about their way of life and their beliefs. Their answers, of course, include a great deal of inaccuracy and parody, but if this is taken into account the dialogue as a whole gives some impression of how the philosophers and their teachings appeared to a general, educated public who had not had a specifically philosophical education.

Of particular interest in the dialogue is the section on Heraclitus (1). Here, even on a cursory examination it is apparent that the parody is extremely close and that not only does Lucian imitate Heraclitus' style but also interweaves actual quotations from his sayings in the dialogue. It is this passage that I wish to discuss, and since it will be necessary to go into it in some detail, for convenience the full text is printed below.

But first a brief introduction: Heraclitus is led onto the platform along with Democritus and the two are put up for sale together, in accordance with the popular cliché which contrasted the two as the weeping and laughing philosophers (2). The buyer first addresses Democritus and asks why he laughs all the time and then disgusted by his failure to get a sensible answer turns to speak to Heraclitus. Their conversation is as follows:

ΑΓΟΡΑΣΤΗΣ: σὺ δε τί κλάεις, ὦ βέλτιστε; πολὺ γὰρ οἶμαι κάλλιον σοὶ προσλαλεῖν.
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΣ: Ἡγέομαι γάρ, ὦ ξεῖνε, τα ἀνθρώπινα πρήγματα οἰζυρὰ καὶ δακρυώδεα καὶ οὐδεν αὐτέων ὅ τι μὴ ἐπικήριον· τῷ δὴ οἰκτείρω τε σφέας καὶ ὀδύρομαι, καὶ τα μὲν παρεόντα οὐ δοκέω μεγάλα, τὰ δὲ ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ ἐσόμενα πάμπαν ἀνιηρά, λέγω δε τὰς ἐκπυρώσιας καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὅλου συμφορήν· ταῦτα ὀδύρομαι καὶ ὅτι ἔμπεδον οὐδέν, ἀλλά κως ἐς κυκεῶνα πάντα συνειλέονται καὶ ἐστι τὠυτὸ τέρψις ἀτερψίη, γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη, μέγα μικρόν, ἄνω κάτω περιχωρέοντα καὶ ἀμειβόμενα ἐν τῇ τοῦ αἰῶνος παιδιῇ.
ΑΓΟ: Τί γὰρ ὁ αἰὼν ἐστι;
ΗΡΑΚ: Παῖς παίζων, πεσσεύων, συμφερόμενος (3) διαφερόμενος.
ΑΓΟ: Τί δαὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι;
ΗΡΑΚ: Θεοὶ θνητοί.
ΑΓΟ: Τί δαὶ οἱ θεοί;
ΗΡΑΚ: Ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι.
ΑΓΟ: Αἰνίγματα λέγεις, ὦ οὗτος, ἢ γρίφους συντίθης; ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ ὁ Λοξίας οὐδὲν ἀποσαφεῖς.
ΗΡΑΚ: Οὐδὲν γάρ μοι μέλει ὑμέων.
ΑΓΟ: Τοιγαροῦν οὐδὲ ὠνήσεταί σέ τις εὖ φρονῶν.
ΗΡΑΚ: Ἐγὼ δὲ κέλομαι πᾶσιν ἡβηδὸν οἰμώζειν, τοῖσιν ὠνεομένοισι καὶ τοῖσιν οὐκ ὠνεομένοισι.
ΑΓΟ: Τουτοὶ τὸ κακὸν οὐ πόρρω μελαγχολίας ἐστίν· οὐδέτερον δὲ ἔγωγε αὐτῶν ὠνήσομαι.
ΕΡΜΗΣ: Ἄπρατοι καὶ οὗτοι μενοῦσιν.
ΖΕΥΣ: Ἄλλον ἀποκήρυττε.

Lines 1 - 6, the beginning of Heraclitus' reply, are of little interest. They serve merely to ease the development from the conventional 'weeping philosopher' figure of the introduction to a character capable of expressing something closer to Heraclitus' genuine opinions. Certainly the idea of Heraclitus weeping for the sufferings of men is entirely unhistorical. It is clear that he had far too much contempt for them to do that! The reference to ἐκπυρώσιας however is

more interesting. There has been considerable controversy as to whether this is a genuine Heraclitean doctrine (4). It is now generally considered that it is not but was attributed to him by Theophrastus and so by the later doxographers and in particular by the Stoics, who were glad to claim such an illustrious forerunner in support of one of their own doctrines.

Lines 6 - 7 ἔμπεδον οὐδέν is not a direct quotation but merely a reference to the familiar Heraclitean idea of perpetual flux, summed up by later writers in the phrase πάντα ῥεῖ.

But the next phrase is clearly an allusion to a fragment of Heraclitus preserved by Theophrastus: καὶ ὁ κυκεὼν διίσταται <μὴ> κινούμενος (5)

8: This string of opposites is in the genuine Heraclitean style but it is difficult to find close parallels.

8-9: Lucian is here quoting and slightly modifying the well-known Heraclitean saying: Ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὠυτή (6)

10-11: These two lines comprise two direct quotations, one better known than the other. The first: Αἰὼν παῖς ἐστι παίζων, πεσσεύων (7)
is elsewhere found in this form only in Hippolytus, whose Refutatio Omnium Haeresium contains a large number of quotations from Heraclitus, though there are allusions to the saying by a number of philosophical and theological writers (8).

The other quotation is the well-known phrase which Lucian gives in the form:
<συμφερόμενος>διαφερόμενος This phrase is used frequently by Heraclitus himself and by other writers. The form of the phrase is adapted to suit the context in each case. (9)

12-15: These lines again are a direct quotation: Ἀθάνατοι θνητοί, θνητοὶ ἀθάνατοι ζῶντες τὸν ἐκείνων θάνατον, τὸν δὲ ἐκείνων βίον τεθνεῶτες: (10)
This is Hippolytus' version but other writers (11), record the saying in a form closer to Lucian's: θεοὶ θνητοί, ἄνθρωποι ἀθάνατοι.
It is possible that there was from early times a double version of this saying.

16-17 These lines both refer to Heraclitus' reputation for obscure and riddling sayings and may also allude to Heraclitus' remark on the Delphic oracle, possibly also with conscious reference to his own style: ὁ ἄναξ, οὗ τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς, οὔτε λέγει οὔτε κρύπτει ἀλλὰ σημαίνει (12)
20-21: This is not a quotation but is fairly obviously a parody of Heraclitus' famous remark to the Ephesians on the banishment of Hermodorus:
ἄξιον Ἐφεσίοις ἡβηδὸν ἐπάγχας θαι πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἀνήβοις τὴν πόλιν καταλιπεῖν...(13)

The parallel is not very close but there is some similarity in the structure of the sentences and the word ἡβηδὸν has no point and very little meaning in Lucian's version unless it is intended to draw attention to the parody.

So it is clear that in this short piece of writing Lucian displays considerable knowledge of the sayings of Heraclitus, including some which are not found in many other sources. It is also obvious that Lucian intended and expected his quotations and parodies to be recognized as such, and this implies that the general public for whom he wrote his dialogues were also familiar with Heraclitus. This seems surprising. Heraclitus was a sixth-century philosopher, left no influential school behind him and was notorious for his obscurity. It is not easy to see what an audience of the second century A.D. could find in his sayings to interest them and why it was possible to assume a general familiarity with them. It is perhaps even more surprising that Lucian with his rhetorical education and his professed disdain for philosophy and philosophers should himself be so closely acquainted with the sayings of Heraclitus. And that raises a further question - how had he acquired that knowledge? Did he

read Heraclitus in the original (14) or did he merely take his quotations from some handbook giving selections from the works of the philosophers?

The answer to all these questions is quite simple - the Stoics. As has been mentioned above the Stoics adopted Heraclitus as a forerunner of their own sect and interpreted his sayings in accordance with their own doctrines. And so at that time when Stoicism was one of the most prominent and widespread philosophic sects - and the Stoic emperor, Marcus Aurelius, was on the throne during Lucian's life-time - Heraclitus would have shared in their popularity. There is no reason to look further for an explanation for Lucian's interest in Heraclitus. No doubt he was attracted by his paradoxical and riddling style and this suggested to him the idea of using actual quotations and close parody in his dialogue, but undoubtedly the main reason was his connection with the Stoics. It is significant that the other pre-Socratic philosopher who plays a prominent part in the Vitarum Auctio is Pythagoras (15), in whom a revival of interest at that time had been brought about by the Neo-Pythagorean movement. For Lucian's knowledge of the Stoics and their doctrines one need only look at the long section on Chrysippus in the Vitarum Auctio, where his familiarity with Stoic vocabulary and logic is immediately apparent (16).

Moreover it is also probable that Lucian derived his knowledge of the text of Heraclitus from Stoic sources. We know from Diogenes Laertius that Stoics wrote books on Heraclitus. Cleanthes, the pupil of Zeno, wrote four books of commentary on him, and his pupil, Sphaerus wrote five διατριβαί (17). No doubt there were others also. So it seems that Lucian could have acquired his knowledge from a stoic work of this kind, perhaps a text with commentary. And in fact it is possible to find slight traces of a Stoic interpretation of Heraclitus in the text of the Vitarum Auctio.

It has already been observed that Lucian follows the stoics in attributing the doctrine of ἐκπύρωσις to Heraclitus. It is true that this belief was not confined to the Stoics and that this inaccuracy may only have been the result of ignorance on Lucian's part - his knowledge of philosophy does appear to be rather superficial - but it is significant that a character in a dialogue of Plutarch is able to say: '... καὶ ὁρῶ τὴν Στωικὴν ἐκπύρωσιν ὥσπερ τὰ 'Ηρακλείτου καὶ 'Ορφέως ἐπινεμομένην ἔπη οὕτω καὶ τὰ 'Ησιόδου καὶ συνεξάπτουσαν.' (18)

Evidently some at least of Lucian's contemporaries were aware of the Stoic habit of interpreting texts to suit themselves, and Lucian may well have been relying directly on a Stoic source for this idea.

The other point where it is possible to detect Stoic influence on the Vitarum Auctio is in the phrase: ... κως ἐς κυκεῶνα πάντα συναλέουται.

Kirk (19) suggests that this may represent the Stoic use of κυκεὼν as a metaphor for confusion. The original saying of Heraclitus as preserved by Theophrastes did not bear this meaning, but the phrase was taken up and interpreted in this way by the Stoics. A saying of Chrysippus is quoted by Plutarch as follows:
πρῶτον γὰρ ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ φύσεως τὸ ἀΐδιον τῆς κινήσεως κυκεῶνι παρεικάσας [sc.ὁ Χρύσιππος] ἄλλα ἄλλως στρέφοντι καὶ ταράσσοντι τῶν γιγνομένων ... (20)

Marcus Aurelius also refers to κυκεων καὶ σκεδασμός (21)

So here also Lucian may be reproducing the Stoic interpretation of a saying of Heraclitus. Neither of these points is entirely convincing, but together - and it must be remembered that they occur within a very small piece of writing - they add weight to the intrinsically probable supposition that Lucian derived his knowledge of Heraclitus from a Stoic source.

Finally I wish to return to the text of the Vitarum Auctio and examine it closely again, in particular the line: κἀ ἐστι τὠυτὸ τέρψις ἀτερψίη, γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη,

Is it not possible that this line, for which, in spite of its obviously Heraclitean style, we could find no very close parallel, could be not merely a parody but in fact a quotation from Heraclitus or a number of quotations combined? This is, of course, not susceptible to proof. It is easy to show that they are all the kind of thing that Heraclitus could have said, but perhaps any pair of opposites could be considered to have some philosophical meaning in the system of Heraclitus, and it would be equally easy to call them the work of an imitator. It is very difficult to be certain. μέγα μικρόν is neither here nor there. There is nothing that can be said on either side. As for τερφις ἀτερφίη, all there is to support its claim to be a genuine fragment is the fact that Heraclitus does use the word τέρφις· ψυχῇσι τέρψιν ὑγρῇσι γενέσθαι (22) which is not very much!

For γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη however, there is rather more evidence. First, it is in keeping with some of the extant sayings of Heraclitus, who continually emphasised the fact that he was the only one who knew the truth and that all other men were mistaken: Διὸ δεῖ ἕπεσθαι τῷ ξυνῷ τουτέστι τῷ κοινῷ· ξυνὸς γὰρ ὁ κοινός. τοῦ λόγου δ'ἐόντος ξυνοῦ ζώουσιν οἱ πολλοὶ ὡς ἰδίαν ἔχοντες φρόνησιν. (23)

A saying like this strengthens the possibility that Heraclitus could have used the phrase γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη. Moreover there is also a fragment which shows that he used the word γνῶσις, again with the idea that knowledge may be deceptive. Ἐξηπάτηνται οἱ ἄνθρωποι πρὸς τὴν γνῶσιν τῶν φανερῶν ... (24)

These comparisons prove nothing. But there is evidence in support of γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη as an actual Heraclitean phrase. Among the Hippocratic corpus is a treatise de Victu, which is written in a style which closely imitates that of Heraclitus and obviously contains many phrases used by the philosopher himself. The date of the work is uncertain but it is clearly earlier than Lucian (25). And one sentence of his treatise reads: διὰ τούτων ἀνθρώποισιν γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη. παιδιτρίβαι ... (26)

Unfortunately there is a textual difficulty here. This is the reading of one of the two chief MSS, as followed by Jones. The reading of the other main MS, adopted by Littré is: διὰ τούτων γνῶσις ἀνθρώποισιν. ἀγωνίη, παιδοτρίβαι ... There is little to choose between them on textual grounds. And it is difficult to make any very obvious sense out of either reading. But γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη is supported by Lucian and by the Heraclitean style of the passage. Perhaps the original reading was merely: δια τούτων ἀνθρώιποωιν γνῶσις and someone later added ἀγνωσίη to complete the Heraclitean tag. The resultant difficulty then could have given rise to the subsequent emendation ἀγωνίη.

It is difficult to be sure but it seems to me at least probable that this is the correct reading here and that the occurrence of the phrase both in this passage and in Lucian is sufficient to lift γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη to the status of a genuine fragment of Heraclitus.

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NOTES

1. Vit. Auct. 14
2. See Luc. Sacrif. 15. Peregr. 7, Stob. Flor. III 20, 53, Seneca: de Ira II 10 5. etc. and for modern discussions Diels Doxographi Graeci p.255ff and Miss C. E. Lota 'Democritus and Heraclitus' C.J. 1953-4 pp. 309-14.
3. This emendation, which is undoubtedly correct, is accepted by Diels-Kranz and Walzer and, in the form διαφερόμενα 'συμφερόμενος' by Harmon in his Loeb edition but I have not been able to trace who originally suggested it.
4. For a full discussion see G. S. Kirk: Heraclitus - the Cosmic Fragments pp. 307-338 partic. pp. 335-338 and W. K. C. Guthrie: History of Greek Philosophy Vol I pp. 455-459
5. Her. Fr. 125 DK. Theophr. De Vertigine 9

6. Fr. 60 DK. Hipp. Ref. IX 10, 4. For other references to this phrase see Kirk op.cit. pp. 105-112
7. Fr. 52. Hipp. Ref. IX 9,4.
8. See Walzer Eraclito under this fragment.
9. See e.g. ffr. 9 & 10. Also Plato: Soph. 242D. Hipp. Ref. IX 9,1. Hippoc. de Victu. 1, 18.
10. fr. 62.
11. e.g. Maximus of Tyre. See Walzer op.cit. for others.
12. fr. 93. See also fr. 92.
13. fr. 121
14. I do not wish to discuss the question of whether Heraclitus did actually write a book or not. Even if he did not the sayings were presumably collected fairly early, probably by his immediate disciples and the difference between this and a work from the hand of Heraclitus himself does not seem very great. On this point see Kirk op.cit. pp. 7-8. Guthrie op.cit. 406-8.
15. Vit. Auct. 2 - 6.
16. Vit. Auct. 20-26. See also the Hermotimus, a long and more serious philosophical dialogue in which Lucian refutes a stoic and finally persuades him to abandon his philosophy.
17. D. L. VII 174, 178.
18. Plut. Def. Or. 415-16.
19. Op.cit p.257
20. Plut. de stoic. repugn. 34 10 49f.
21. M.A. IX, 39, cf. VI 10, IV 27
22. fr. 77
23. fr.2. γνῶσις is, of course, γνῶσις τῶν φανερῶν - sense perception, which Heraclitus regards as deceptive. For him true knowledge is λόγος. (See e.g. fr.1) and the order of the universe perceived by λόγος is ἁρμονίη ἀφανής which is φανερῆς κρείττων (fr. 54). Therefore γνῶσις ἀγνωσίη is what one would expect, since sense perception follows the rule of opposites which governs everything in the universe except λόγος.
24. fr. 56.
25. W. H. S. Jones in the introduction to his Loeb edition of Hippocrates dates it at around 400 B.C. But Kirk, op.cit. p.21 and pp. 26-30 argues for a post-Aristotelian date.
26. Hippoc. de victu I end of ch. 23.

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